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ABSTRACT

The function of schooling on different levels in the direction of the processes of social mobility which influence the development of rural areas in Poland were studied during 1967-71. Data was collected by means of a network of 35 permanent teacher correspondents, as well as 2 field stations which were operated for 3 years in 2 investigated villages. The areas for which information was provided included attendance of rural youth in various types of schools; dropouts in the rural areas; the level of pupil's knowledge and ability; and schooling retardation and its effects on unequal educational cpportunity. Selected conclusions only were presented in this report since reports of the research as a whole are to be published in book form. Trends indicated by the research include the need to (1) strengthen rural schools by eliminating their present dispersion and by opening new, more centralized networks based on bussing, (2) strengthen the rural teaching personnel by raising qualifications and specialization, (3) introduce gradually universal secondary education in city and country, (4) improve the system of student selection, and (5) modernize teaching methods. (PS)

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ACCESSIBILITY OF SCHOOLING ON DIFFERENT LEVELS TO RURAL YOUTH. FINDINGS OF RESEARCH

The proportion of those employed in agriculture (36,5%) /1/ and live in the village (47,8%)/1/ is still high in Poland. Hence the proper control of geographical mobility, of the processes of migration and urbanization is of basic political and economic importance. Poland is also among the countries where the village continues to differ from the town in many respects, where there is still an essential differentiation in living conditions and opportunities between rural and urban inhabitants. Therefor direction of the processes of vertical social mobility aiming to eliminate existing disproportions and unequal opportunity is among the important tasks of social policy which condition the gradual realization of the socialist system's egalitarian ideology.

The present study is devoted to the function of schooling on different levels in the direction of the processes of social mobility which influence the development of the rural areas in various ways. All the findings cited here derive from research conducted in 1967-1971. Most of them come from the work of the present author and his research team, which included Drs.Zbigniew Kwiecinski and Wlodzimierz Winclawski, conducted in three agricultural counties in Plock, Torun and Wloclawek.Besides a poll and statistical research, the method was applied of many years observation by means of a network of 35 permanent teacher correspondents as well as 2 field stations which operated for 3 years in 2 investigated villages (Z.Kwiecinski and W.Winclawski). The qualitative aspects of the processes in question were thus investigated by the method of controled observation in 37 localities. For understandable reasons the present paper presents only several selected conclusions from research which as a whole is thusfar being published in 3 books (M.Kozakiewicz, Kariery plockie (Plock Careers), Szkolnictwo a uprzemyslowienie (Schooling and Industrialisation), 1971, pp.314; Z.Kwiecinski,Funkcjonowania szkoly wiejskiej w rejonie uprzemyslowianym (Functioning of Rural Schools in Inductrialized Regions) /in print/; W.Winclawski, Przemiany srodowiska wychowawczego wsi w wyniku uprzemyslowienia rejonu (Changes in the Rural

Educational Environment as a Result of the Industrialization of a Region), /in print/.

Attendance of rural youth in various types schools

Equality of access to various schools would be theoretically ideal only if the proportion of pupils and students of the different social groups corresponded, at least approximately, to their percentage of the population. Publicists in the field of education have been mainly concerned about changing these proportions in Poland's higher educational institutions. For here students of intelligentsia origin occupy more than half the places, although this stratum is a minority of the population.And conversely-the number of young people of worker and peasant origin is very low in proportion.Thus in 1969-1970 children of peasants constituted 15.9% of the total in full time and evening schools of all types, children of workers- 29.1%. Whereas children of mental workers constituted 50.5% of all full time students. The situation is better in the considerably more difficult evening schools: workers' children- 57.1%, peasants' children- 18.6% and children of mental workers- 23%.

The social disproportions on the higher educational level and the quest for remedial measures distracted attention for many years from the causes of the disproportions which lay in the selection made 5 years prior to the competitive examinations for schools of higher learning. The poblication of national data on the social origin of secondary school pupils commenced only several years ago.These data show that children of workers constituted 45.1%, of peasants - 26.8% and of mental workers- 21.1% of all pupils in full time vocational schools. These indicators hence approximate more closely the ratios of the different social strata to the national population.But this pertains to schools which prepare for higher education to a very small degree, since an appreciable majority of vocational school pupils attended elementary vocational schools which do not qualify for a secondary school diploma. While of those who studied in technical schools which do so qualify, a large proportion (3/4) do not go in for higher education, at least not directly from technical school. The general secondary school remains the principal preparatory school for higher education. And the situation in these schools is essentially different than in vocational schools. In 1969/70 children of workers constituted 27.4%,of peasants- 17.4% and of mental workers- 47.7% of all pupils in the penultimate class before graduation. These proportions were quite similar to the later ones in higher educational institutions.

Before turning from these general quantitative indices to some qualitative ones,let us cite the findings of research conducted in 1968 which embraced 1528 pupils of 7 vocational schools (from elementary and technical to post secondary) of chemical and petrochemical special-izations at Plock. These schools were investigated according to the criteria of the geographic and social distribution of their pupils. It was assumed (in common terminology) that the schools could be divided into "worse", i.e., of shorter duration and less au-

thoritative (elementary vocational), "better" (the technical school) and the "best", i.e., the higher type post secondary graduate school. It turned out that the geogrephical range of the Plock schools practically embraced the whole of Poland.The pupils, in quest of an attractive vocation and well paid jobs,came to this new industrial centre and its schools even from remote parts of the country.The factor of distance plays a big role here, for 70.6% of the 920 pupils come from the industrial region where the schools are located (youth from Plock occupy 390 places,from neighbouring Gostynin-122, Sierpc- 104 and from more distant Plonsk- only 58 places. However, those who come from remote provinces are as a rule more selective, a larger number of them choose the best schools,i.e., which afford the best opportunities and the most desirable jobs.Thus, of the 1528 pupils of the 7 investigated Plock schools those from outside Warsaw province constituted only 1.2% of the elementary chemical school /2/ pupils, 27% of the chemical technical schools /3/ and 35.4% of the pupils at the state chemical technical schools for secondary school graduates. /4/ These data are confirmed by other research (M.Pohoski's, for instance) which establishes that not only the ambitious but also the most prepared intellectually migrate to distant places,for educational purposes too. But the higher selectivity of those from distant provinces is only a secondary effect of the prior natural selection of candidates to schools in the Plock region. This situation flows from the established fact that every second student from distant parts of the country and from Warsaw province and only 20% of the students living in that industrial region had previously finished secondary school. It thus turns out that completed general education (secondary school graduation) makes it easier to benefit from the educational opportunities not only at the place of residance but also in distant parts of the country, not only on the level of higher education but also in postgraduate institutions.

Observations and conclusions based only on data pertaining to the territorial range of the Plock vocational schools require considerable modification and supplementation if the out of town pupils are regarded not from the viewpoint of the distance of their permanent residence from the Plock schools, but in respect of their social origin. According to the parents' occupational structure the respondent group of 920 secondary chemical and building construction school pupils breaks down as follows:

	number	percentage
Children of workers	122	13.0
" " farmers	449	48.9
of which:		
0-2 ha	31	
6-10 ha	200	
over 10 ha	47	
no information on farm size	51	
" of mental workers	115	12.5
" " handicraftsmen and others	163	17.8
No information on occupation	71	7.8
	920	100

Quantitatively the peasant youth benefitted most from the Plock schools. They occupied almost every second place in schools above the elementary level. But a breakdown of the data according to the type of school they attended shows that their educational advance was weakest in respect of quality. For pupils of peasant origin constituted only 15% of post secondary technical schools, 33% of full time and evening technical school pupils and as much as 65% of elementary vocational schools-publicly regarded as the lowest grade.

The situation was the direct opposite with children of the intelligentsia: only 4.7% of elementary vocational school pupils, 6.4% of technical schools and as much as 31.7% of post secondary schools.

The educational advance of peasant youth was thus most massive in numbers but lowest in quality. This is confirmed by nationwide data. Peasant youth occupy every third place in full time elementary vocational schools and every fifth place in secondary (full time technical) vocational schools. In general, social status seems to be a more effective determinant of advancement by education- in a qualitative sense- than is the distance of the schooling centre, where a young person seeks to advance himself, from the place of residence.

The situation in this respect is still worse with the general secondary school. Here peasant youth constitute a little more than 15% of pupils, of which 2/3 are girls. It is important, of course, to establish the reasons why worker and paesant youth are mainly concentrated in elementary vocational schools, attend technical schools to a lesser extent and least general secondary schools. The example of Plock suggests deeper mechanisms operating here than proximity of schools or their inadequate number of places. For the Plock research pertains to a region without any shortage of school seats due to the exhuberant expansion of education effected by industrialization. In fact, during the period of research a number of schools there could not recruit the necessary number of candidates. The present study is mainly devoted precisely to this question of the unequal access to education on the higher than elementary level, especially to the general secondary school which matures for higher education.

Dropouts in the rural areas

Dropouts in the rural areas was investigated by Z. Kwiecinski in Plock and Swiecie counties. He examined 673 individuals of whom 598 dropped out of rural elementary school. The author concluded that this is still a relatively frequent phenomenon which limits the educational possibilities of the rural youth. For it is obvious that any further social advance by means of education is impossible without at least finishing elementary school. The primary causes of dropouts flow from the fact that a certain part of peasant families, particularly those living at the periphery of school districts, still find themselves outside the direct range of the socio-economic changes effected by industrialization as well as the backward and difficult schooling conditions.

Besides, the considerable growth of employment outside

agriculture has created a new demand for labour power in the family. This sharpened the conflicting situation between the obligations to the school and to the farm, especially for boys. There is a certain improvement here though, since the number of forms finished before dropping out is greater than before the was or in the first few years following.Moreover, a higher proportion of persons continue their education later at evening or correspondence courses- on their own initiative or under the influence of the family.

Dominant among the causes of rural dropouts are those of an economic character (the farm production structure, the children's work burden, the farm's material position) and of a psychosomatic nature (differences in the physical and mental development of rural children). Our research has established a relative decline in the influence of economic factors- due to the positive changes in the rural areas- and a shift of the centre of gravity to psychosomatic causes,i.e., those depending on certain physical and mental handicaps of children who grow up in unfavourable sociocultural conditions.

Dropping out of school is usually due to a combination of causes of vaying force and sequence of action. Some may be called objective, external in relation to the pupil,such as: a) the family structure, b) place of residence, c) distance from school, d) the family's material situation,e) the family's attitude to upbringing.Others are subjective, i.e., connected with the pupil's personality: a) the level of mental development, b) physical development, state of health, c) aspirations, d) pattern of behaviour, etc. Some of the causes are clearly related to upbringing in the family. A positive change in this respect consists in the fact that in regions undergoing deep-going socio-economic change due to industrialization,the family is ever less inclined to influence the children to drop out of school. Our research nevertheless establishes that the question of an equal start cannot be solved without overcoming the dropping out phenomenon, beginning with elementary school.Otherwise it is hardly possible to unleash in the process of education all the talents and abilities latent in the masses.This applies all the more to Poland's present demographic depression which dictates the need to utilise human reserves to the highest degree,including (if not primarily) the rural reserves which constitute the main source of future candidates for schools of all types and for the labour market.

The pupils' level of knowledge and ability

The chief cause of the difference in the educational level of provincial and city youth seems to lie in the functioning of rural and urban elementary schools. According to research conducted by Z.Kwiecinski in Brudzen Duzy and other villages of Plock county,the difference in the level of knowledge and ability is very great.This research which embraced 3856 pupils and 158 forms in 1969 also disclosed a sharp difference in this respect between urban and rural elementary school pupils. Thus the percentage index of task fulfillment

(the Konopnicki test) stood at 21 for the pupils of all the investigated rural classes and at 44.7 for the pupils of urban schools. It may hence be asserted that in Plock county (and it is representative in this respect of the situation in other areas) the educational level was twice as high in the urban than in the rural schools.

That was confirmed by Kwiecinski's research of 1971 in the Torun and Wloclawek counties. The median points for the solution of test problems (in a group of 3,230 elementary school pupils) in the field of the humanities amounted to 24.25 for urban schools in Wloclawek, 20.9 for small town schools and 14.56 for rural schools.For tests in mathematics and natural science subjects to 26.23,21.39 and 16.78 points respectively. Research in Torun county (on 3808 pupils) recorded the median points for a test in the humanities as 27.9 in the city, 20.3 in small towns and 14.3 in the peripheral villages. Tests in mathematics and the natural sciences showed a similar divergence between the city and its peripheral villages (29.5 against 17.2 points).

Research furthermore indicates that a considerable number of rural school pupils may be regared as functional semi-literates, while only a few can be said to represent a very good or excellent level. Thus 51.4% of urban pupils were shown by the research to deserve a good or very good rating in general knowledge as compared to 7.7% of rural school pupils in the same region. And conversely- the category of pupils considered deficient in the general level of knowledge amounted to 40.5% in the rural areas and only 4.8% in the urban centres.

The evident divergence in the humanities and mathematics is the principal cause of the prevailing unequal opportunities of the two populations for further education. This is reflected in the rural young peoples' mechanism of self-critical, realistic evaluation of existing possibilities when they shun more difficult schools with their competitive examinations as in their objective ability to pass such examinations when they try. Therefor the basic task for the real equalization of the educational start is to even the educational levels of urban and rural schools.

The same research suggests that a very important cause of the divergence in the level of knowledge- besides place of residence (town or country) or location of the elementary school attended- is socio-vocational origin. As a rule, children of the intelligentsia in both urban and rural schools showed higher attainments in the mass polls conducted. The differences between socio-vocational groups were equally strong in town and country.For example,children of unskilled workers in rural schools had lower grades as a rule than their counterparts in the city.Among pupils of rural schools in an industrialized region children of the intelligentsia attained the highest results: 34.8% correct answers.Children of peasants had the lowest results: 19.2% correct, and the children of unskilled workers-21.2%.Children of mental workers also attained the best ratings in urban schools: 50.6%, children of skilled workers occupied second place with 39.1%

while children of unskilled workers scored the lowest: 34.2%. It is significant that the group of children of the rural intelligentsia represent the same level as the lowest educational level group of urban children. Hence the place of residence turns out to be a stronger determinant here than the parents' sociovocational category.

The problem was considered of such importance that we investigated it anew with other methods and in a different location. Thus W.Winclawski tested the ratings of pupils of calsses VI to VIII inclusive in 20 village communities of Bielsk hamlet which were divided into 5 zones according to the distance from the centre of the industrial town. The villages were divided into 4 groups: a) suburban villages, (I), b) villages of median commuting time to Plock but with a wide amplitude of roads, (IIa), c) villages of median commuting time to Plock but with few roads, (IIb), d) typical agricultural villages far from town, (III) and e) the agricultural township Bielsk, (B).

The investigated villages degree of urbanization rises in the order of III, IIb, IIa, I, B.

In 1970 the villages of the distinguished zones recorded the following schooling results (by the pupils of forms IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, of a possible 49 points):

	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
B -	26.4	n.i	n.i	n.i	n.i /x/
I -	24.1	24.0	21.1	18.2	17.7
IIa-	19.9	19.3	13.2	n.i	n.i
IIb-	24.3	17.5	17.4	15.6	n.i
III-	18.9	17.2	16.5	16.0	12.7

/x/ n.i. - no information either because the research is still in progress or because the school in question is of a lower grade without form VIII.

The findings are definite: the results of schooling decline with the drop in the level of rural urbanization, or with the rise of rusticism. What's interesting is that the research did not establish any clear influence of the schools per se on the educational results. For example, in the elementary school of the agricultural township Bielsk local pupils scored 26.4 points while those from neighbouring villages studying at the same school rated correspondingly 19.3, 18.9, 17.5, 16.5 and 16 points.

The Winclawski research in question also established that the frequency of school attendance drops in proportion to the degree the locality is of an agricultural character. Thus, while the average 1965-1970 attendance in Bielsk township amounted to 96.2%, in the highly urbanized rural zone adjacent to Plock it stood at 94.3%, in the median distance zone at 91% and in the distant zone at 90.7%. There is hardly any need to prove that the frequency of school attendance stands in direct relation with the results of education and promotion.

A third verification of the proposition regarding the relation between the place of residence and rural or urban character of the school attended, on the one hand, and the teaching level, on the other, is provided by the present au-

thor's research of 1971 through the instrumentality of the Polish Academy of Science teacher correspondents at Plock county. The research embraced 511 pupils who finished form VIII in 1970 and 1462 who matriculated from the investigated schools over 1960-1970, including 757 who finished rural elementary schools.

Research conducted with independent methods and on other populations fully confirm the findings of Kwiecinski and Winslawski discussed above. Children's median ratings were investigated in the humanities, mathematics and natural science subjects according to the parents' socio-vocational categories. In the test of promoted pupils, hence of those who could not be rated lower than passing (mark 3), it was established that children of farmers also received the lowest mark, 3, in the above subjects. The same average rating was scored by the children of part-time farmers. Children of unskilled and skilled workers scored somewhat higher in the above subjects, 3.3. The ratings of mental workers' children were decidedly higher: in the humanities- 3.9, in mathematics and natural sciences-3.8. This was the case with both urban and rural pupils. But marked differences appeared when the same data pertained to the median ratings scored by pupils grouped not according to the father's socio-vocational affiliation but according to the father's educational level- independent of his occupation. The differentiation established above then turned out to be marked. Thus, children of parents who did not finish elementary school had a general median rating of 3.2, those whose fathers had a completed elementary education scored 3.4 in the humanities and 3.3 in mathematics and natural science subjects. Children whose fathers completed secondary school registered a considerable jump in their level of knowledge: the median for the humanities amounted to 4.3, for mathematics and natural science subjects- to 3.8. Finally, children whose parents had a completed higher education scored the highest: 4.2 and 4.3 respectively, or close to the mark very good on the scale of school ratings.

The data may be analyzed in still another manner, namely, by checking the frequency of the very good rating (hence the ablest in a school sense) according to the father's educational group. Thus in the group of pupils whose fathers had not finished elementary school only 2% scored very good in the humanities and 2.6% in mathematics and natural science. Where the fathers had a completed elementary education the corresponding percentages stood at 6.8 and 5.7. Of those whose fathers had finished secondary school 19.3% scored very good in the humanities and 16.4% in mathematics and natural science. Finally, pupils of the highest category, i.e., whose fathers had a completed higher education, as much as 41.4 and 50% scored very good in the former and latter respectively. (The last figures are the least reliable because of the small number of respondents involved in proportion to the total investigated population.).

The investigation by Z. Kwiecinski in 1971 in the Torun region (3,803 respondent elementary school pupils) also pointed to the very high correlation between the pupils' level of knowledge and their parents' education.

The degree of pupils' knowledge according to the parents' educational level

Number of years of parents' schooling	Mother		Father	
	Results of both tests		Results of both tests	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
5 years	20.8	15.1	18.2	14.9
7-8 "	23.7	17.1	21.1	18.9
9-10 "	29.6	25.0	26.8	22.1
11-12 "	32.8	31.0	32.1	33.9
13-14 "	41.2	33.0	36.0	37.6
15 "	55.0	-	43.9	49.0

It appears that the established extremely sharper differentiation in the level of learning according to the father's education than according to the parents' occupational category deserves serious attention. This pertains particularly to programming remedial measures and to working out more effective systems of preference for children of workers and peasant origin in the entire school system.

Schooling retardation and its effects on unequal educational opportunity

Retarded schooling expressed in finishing school at an older age than the normal or dropping out is a separate cause of inequality of educational opportunity and of the handicaps faced by worker and peasant youth's desire for knowledge. The proportion of retarded pupils is definitely higher in the later classes and in rural schools. This phenomenon exists also in urban schools but there is a considerable quantitative difference here.Thus, for instance, in Kwiecinski's investigation (of 3856 pupils)each fourth pupil in the agricultural areas of Plock county was retarded in school age as compared to only 6.8% in Plock city schools. His research further demonstrated that retarded pupils as a rule display a lower level of knowledge and that a considerably smaller proportion of them passed the tests. This was confirmed by the present author's above cited research which established considerably lower median ratings for retarded pupils than for those of normal school age.

Thus with pupils of proper school age the median ratings in the humanities were 3.3 points and in mathematics and natural science 3.55. With one year's retardation the median ratings dropped to 3.10 and 3.07 respectively,as compared to 3.00 for those retarded by two years. This fully establishes retarded pupils' lower level of knowledge. That their marks, though minimal, are still of the passing level is due to the fact that only promoted pupils were examined. The figure of 26% retardation in the rural schools almost fully corresponds to Kwiecinski's finding.

Since the above data cause statistical differences to shrink by comprising only promoted pupils and thus operating with a limited rating scale (3-passing, 4-good,5-very good), it may be well to cite data on this question obtained by Z.Kwiecinski. He tested the level of knowledge in Wloclawek county schools of all pupils, promoted and left over. While in the town schools pupils ahead by one year scored 33.9

points in the two tests (mathematics and the humanities), the respective scores for normal school age pupils were 27.8 and 17.3. The corresponding ratings for those retarded by two years were 12.8 and 8.1 points and one year retarded pupils scored 14.8 in town and 8.9 in the country.

The facts that rural schools represent the lowest teaching level, have the largest number of dropouts and highest proportion of retarded pupils, that the parents of children studying there mostly belong to the socio-vocational category of peasants and unskilled workers with completed or incompleted elementary school education- all of these constitute a set of variables which in all researches turned out to be uniformly correlated with a low level of teaching. This leads to the fundamental conclusion that the sharp difference in the level of knowledge between urban and rural elementary school pupils effects a decided differentiation of opportunity in intellectual and everyday life already at the threshold of post elementary education. These differences constitute a basic social force which impells selection beginning with the secondary school level in a direction contrary to state policy and socialist ideology.

Some conclusions

The above described research and the stock of knowledge not cited here suggest the following conclusions regarding the causes of the prevailing inequality of access to various level schools:

1) There is a close relation between the level of school knowledge and a) the parents' educational level, b) their socio-occupational position, c) the economic situation, d) the family's education and place of residence;

2) There is a correlation between the pupil's choice of a postelementary type school and his social situation. Those belonging to a lower socio-economic group or are of a lower educational level choose lower level secondary and higher schools. So is there a correlation between the choice of a school type and the pupil's level of school learning which is determined primarily by the location of the elementary school and next by the place occupied by the pupil's family on the social ladder;

3) Decisions concerning the choice of post-elementary schools reflect the processes of spontaneous social selection which can by only weakened but not eliminated by deliberate educational policy;

4) Among pupils of the same level of knowledge graduating schools, especially general secondary schools, are chosen by those whose social position is more favourable and in respect of sex by girls;

5) The above mentioned forces of social selection, antecedant to the choice of school, act with greater intensity among the sons rather than the daughters of peasants. Boys prefer technical schools, girls- general secondary schools. This makes it difficult to avoid the feminization /5/ of higher educational institutions and to maintain a proper social composition in the schools.

Retarded schooling encourages the choice of non graduating schools. And since retarded pupils predominate in the rural areas, most of them apply to elementary vocational schools;

6) Formal selective institutions, such as repetition of class VIII and preliminary examinations only lead to a slight correction of pupils' plans. These changes only deepen the earlier process of spontaneous social selection, although repetition of studies and examinations accurately distinguish low from adequate levels of knowledge;

7) Among pupils of the same social position and equal level of knowledge, peasant youth more rarely choose the general secondary school and more often elementary vocational schools. The cause here too must be sought outside the school system.

The role of incentives and counter-incentives in the sphere of access to education

The simple fact that schools above the elementary level are concentrated in cities exerts an important influence on the access of education. All children living in the remote provinces confront the problem of distance from school. This can be overcome either by traveling to school or by periodically living on the school premises.

The above cited research of present Author's on 7 of the most attractive Plock vocational schools established that 44.7% of the pupils traveled to school daily, 21.5 lived in public boarding schools or dormitories, 27.7% in private lodgings (besides the 6.6% who lived in workers' hostels).

It is obvious that meeting the problem of distance from school involves expenditures by the family. The magnitude of these costs was established and the influence they may exert on the decision of young people and their parents to choose some and not other schools was analyzed. The magnitudes of the following chief components of the expenditure involved were calculated: a) cost of housing, b) food, c) services (laundry, electric power, etc.), d) pocket money. The gathered data were broken up by types of periodic residence on school premises (boarding school, private lodging, workers' hostel) and according to the pupil's social origin.

Median monthly cost (gross) of education in 1969 (in zlotys)

	housing	food	services	pocket money	total monthly	total yearly
Boarding school	0/x/	400	0	105	505	5050
Workers' hostel	100	430	25	105	660	6600
Lodging with strangers	255	560	10	105	930	9300
Lodging with acquaintances	195	440	0	105	740	7400
Lodging with relatives	170	345	0	105	620	6200

/x/ 0 = free

Two reservations should be noted with regards to this table. It deals with averages, hence real costs were considerably higher in many individual cases. Second, 127 pupils lived with strangers in the most expensive private lodging houses, 7 in lodgings of acquaintances and 30 with relatives. The data show that to acquire an education requires from parents a gross annual expenditure of 5 to 10,000 zlotys on the average. According to available detailed data not cited here, the sum is 15,000 zlotys. Hence the principle of free education becomes illusory for a considerable part of society. It is evident that the choice between elementary vocational school, the technical school or the State Technological School involves also the choice between a two, five or six year period of carrying the financial burden. In terms of cash, this means a choice between spending from 10 to 20 or 30 to 60,000 zlotys gross for a child's education. We stress gross in each case because the expenditure is reduced for about half the pupils by the system of state stipends. The public boarding school turned out to be the cheapest, but it can regrettably accomodate no more than 31% of pupils. Private lodgings, used by 24.2%, were the most expensive. But it should be noted that this represents a higher percentage in Plock than in the rest of the country. It is highly probable that the high cost of education is one of the chief obstacles to peasant youth choosing better but longer term schools. An additional factor is the fact that it is possible to earn money from practical work in the elementary vocational school- and considerably more than the stipends granted in general secondary schools. Thus, the highest stipend in the latter amounts to 320 zlotys monthly (often paid in two installments) while remuneration from practical work in the elementary vocational school amounts to 455 zlotys.

It has been the policy of the educational authorities thusfar to assure both stipends and accomodation in boarding schools mainly to elementary vocational school pupils. In sum, all these factors: preference in boarding schools and stipends, higher stipends, the shorter period of educational expenditures and the higher earnings after finishing the elementary vocational school could not but make the latter more attractive than the general secondary or post-maturation schools for peasant youth. In this situation, the fact that the scant number of places in boarding school and the inadequate number of stipends being distributed properly from a social viewpoint, are of no great significance. Nor is the clear preference in this respect by worker and peasant youth, as indicated by the research. This is primarily so since the system of state aid incentives reinforces the motivation of peasant children to choose the elementary school instead of the roads leading to the university. In this manner the exhuberant development in relation to the three main aims of education: 1) satisfaction of young peoples' aspirations, 2) meeting the needs of the labour market and 3) influencing the class structure of society, accomplishes only the first two in accord with socialist ideology. As for the third task, it cannot be said to be adequately fulfilled (particularly

in the sphere of renewing the composition of the intelligentsia by means of the influx of working class and peasant youth into the general secondary school and later the university).

Epilogue

The difficulties and distortions in the educational system and teaching methods(despite undoubted quantitative progress) have been of such constant concern of the authorities that a Commission of experts, headed by Prof.Jan Szczepanski, was recently appointed to prepare a report on the state of education in Poland.Composed of non-governmental specialists, its task is to evaluate the functioning and development of the school system and to make proposals for its improvement and modernisation.

In reference to the problems dealt with in the present paper, the Commission is to analyze the prevailing system of organized and spontaneous selection of pupils and students for various type schools. Since such analyses are made on the basis of many sociological crossections (including the urban-rural division), the conclusions of the Commission of Experts will exert a great influence on elimination the disproportions described in the present study. The work of the Commission is till in progress but at least some trends can be indicated likely to be approved by it:

a) to strengthen rural schools didactically by eliminating their present dispersion and by opening new, more centralised networks based on bussing,

b) to strengthen the rural teaching personnel by raising qualifications and specialisation,

c) to gradually introduce universal secondary education in city and country,

d) to improve the system of student and pupil selection by substituting conscious, organised for spontaneous selection,

e) to modernise teaching methods by introducing the latest mass media and audio-visual forms in order to eliminate the effects of the cultural differential between city and country and to relieve school programmes of excessive information transmitted by traditional methods in the class room.

These are only some of the intentions taking shape, but they justify the hope that the findings of analogical research ten years hence will show definite changes for the better in relation to phenomena causing anxiety and dissatisfaction today.

Reference Notes

/1/ Data for 1970

/2/ The elementary vocational school is of 2-3 year duration and trains qualified workers.

/3/ The technical school runs for 5 years, provides technical skills and a secondary school finishing diploma.

/4/ The state technical school is a semi-higher educational institution of a 2-3 year term for secondary school graduates and offers a technician's diploma.

/5/ For example in 1970/1971 women-students occupied 60% places in economics, 70% in humanities, 64% in medicine, 70% in pedagogics, 60% in mathematics etc. at all universities.